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THE NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, MAY 19, 1962

The New York Times

ABRAHAM S. COHEN, Publisher 1926-1955

PUBLISHED EVERY DAY EXCEPT ON SUNDAY BY THE NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY

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Tests for Our Alliances

In defense against Communist aggression—past, present and potential—the United States has created a world-wide system of alliances, including four principal ones known as NATO, CENTO, SEATO and ANZUS. All are designed to protect their members against direct or indirect Communist attack.

These alliances are now being put to the test. There is no question of the allies' dedication to the common cause. There is, however, a growing disparity in their views and in their defense contributions. In the Atlantic area the very nature of the alliance is in dispute between the American concept, forcefully reemphasized by President Kennedy last week, of an interdependent Atlantic community and President de Gaulle's anachronistic concept of a united Continental Europe pursuing its own destiny under French leadership.

This disparity is regrettable, even dangerous, in the present international situation. To meet existing threats, President Kennedy is seeking, by diplomatic and military means, to stabilize the situation, to freeze the status quo. As the most powerful factor, but not the only one, he has dispatched American troops to train guerrilla fighters in SEATO-protected Vietnam and has also sent to Thailand, at its request under SEATO and the United Nations Charter, the first American combat troops to be committed in Southeast Asia. The risks we run are self-evident. Another Korean is always a grim possibility, yet SEATO members offer only token forces. The real test of the alliance is still to come.

In similar fashion, President Kennedy seeks to stabilize the situation in Berlin. He is determined to keep Western troops in that city to preserve its freedom and viability, while offering no commitment on control of the eastern routes that divide West German participation. Both President de Gaulle and Chancellor Adenauer hold, however, that to offer concessions in advance of a Soviet decision is dangerous. The Soviet position, especially President de Gaulle's, makes the most difficult task of the United States in its negotiations with the U. S. S. R. and, as we have seen in recent days, to win their public consent to the ally on whom strength they must ultimately rely for their own protection against the Soviet Union.

Western Aid to Nasser

The free world is moving energetically to help the United Arab Republic cope with extreme economic difficulties. The International Monetary Fund has helped in with what amounts to a loan of \$42,500,000, and arrangements are being completed for additional substantial help from the United States, Japan and various Western European countries. In return the U. A. R. has devalued its currency unit, the pound, and has promised to embark upon a comprehensive program to put its financial house in order.

All this must be confusing to those who see the world scene in purely ideological terms. The U. A. R. after all is the bastion of what President Kennedy has recently termed "Arab socialism," a concept that includes ideas borrowed from the Soviet "revolutionary" large scale participation in directing economic life, and the "rich" attitude that his impoverished fellow of the former elite families in Egypt.

This Arab socialism is combined with a virulent hostility toward Egyptian Communism which has resulted in bitter attacks upon the former from Communists at home and abroad. At the same time the U. A. R. is receiving substantial help from the U. S. S. R. and the Soviet Union.

These "bourgeois" and "imperialist" nations are moving in on a large scale to rescue the United Arab Republic from a threatening bankruptcy. In short, proves once again that the problems of Western nations cannot be solved simply by applying ideological formulas.

Speech
 President Kennedy in the United States today will announce that the United States is sending a large number of troops to Vietnam to help the South Vietnamese fight the North Vietnamese.

that our party can be a worthy example for all the peoples of Latin America.

Premier Castro has, in our opinion, not the slightest chance of success. But the Cuban revolution continues, and so long as it does we must try to understand what the Castro regime is attempting to do.

Sequel to the Powers Case

John A. McCone, vigorous new director of the Central Intelligence Agency, has been demonstrating a lack of C. I. A. the strong leadership and comprehension which all those who have known him anticipated.

Yet there are, inevitably, carry-overs from the past which still leave disgusting memories. One of these is the case of Francis Gary Powers, the pilot of the U-2 high-flying plane lost over Soviet Russia in 1960. The carefully staged and well-planned arrangements for Powers' public appearance before the Senate Armed Services Committee a few weeks ago did little to allay the doubts raised by the inept handling at the time of the U-2 incident.

Questions are still being asked, and the lessons of the U-2 which should have been underscored after Powers' return remain hazy and confused. The questions are many and publicly unanswered: What were Powers' orders about the destruction of his plane? Why did the Government launch a cock-and-bull cover story when the U-2 disappeared? Was Powers really ordered to "cooperate" with his captors? Is it the Government's belief that the U-2 was actually damaged by a Soviet rocket? And so on.

The lessons, which should have been sharply drawn by the Senate hearing, have been fumbled up and forgotten. But they are plain enough. The first is that the qualifications possessed by a competent technician, no matter how expert, are not alone sufficient for a job of such risks and importance as that of Powers.

The second lesson is that high pay is not an adequate motivational reward for the kind of risks Powers and his comrades took. A man will die for his country and for the belief in what he is doing, but money cannot purchase this emotional resolve.

The third lesson is that the C. I. A. should have been better prepared for what did happen than our heavy-handed fumbling at the time indicated. It is quite true that the C. I. A. was not alone in its mistakes. Government bureaucracy, crossed purposes and some poor judgment contributed to making a bad situation worse. But the C. I. A. has had in the past too much of a history of free-wheeling.

Congressional control is even more important for a secret intelligence agency than it is for the military. That control has been too loose in the past. There is one ready way to remedy it—the creation of a watchdog committee of both houses of Congress—a Joint Congressional Committee on Intelligence, which could monitor C. I. A. operations just as the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy watches over the A. E. C.

The Forthright Mr. McNamara

The civilian chief of our armed forces ought to be as brave as any man under his command. Secretary of Defense McNamara is certainly meeting that test in his duels with Congressional critics of the Pentagon's program for eliminating eight of the thirty-seven existing National Guard and Reserve divisions. As we have previously stated, we doubt that the proposed reorganization is adequately keyed to the Army's over-all manpower procurement needs; and we have grave reservations about its contribution to improved military readiness.

However, these thoughts do not diminish our admiration for Mr. McNamara's courage in tugging with influential Congressmen who have sought to discredit the program as the product of an unqualified subordinate. Furthermore, the Secretary has been equally forthright in rejecting the parochialism of those whose determination to keep alive particular units stems more from sentiment (or politics) than from considerations of military usefulness. No part of our defense structure has traditionally been more overlaid with political considerations.

Foreign Affairs

Behind the Fury and the Sound

By C. L. SULZBERGER

PARIS, May 18.—The Indo-NATO forum, entering on Washington and Paris, cannot fairly be described as a tepid tempest. It involves more sound than fury and no one could call the Atlantic a tepid. But it is extraordinary only because it is so equidistant.

The argument derives from de Gaulle's recent press conference in which he said nothing new although his evasive choice of words prompted some of his Ministers to resign. De Gaulle didn't threaten to quit NATO or break up the Common Market. He merely reiterated known ideas, some of them unpalatable to us, about building his own French nuclear force and army and aiming at a confederated rather than a federated Europe.

In terms of Europe his policy is not so far from ours as everyone imagined. The United States has always been more interested in getting the Continental nations together than in the semantics describing this process. It is a latter-day development that we are so concerned about British admission, De Gaulle and Adenauer, who are not keenly interested in economics, are happy to see how their alliances have prospered. They won't be around by the time the Common Market finally decides its ultimate political form. In the meantime its members are learning how to work together.

France isn't going to quit NATO and try to build a third force between West and East. De Gaulle is a nationalist; but he is also a Westerner. He merely thinks the United States isn't the entire West. He believes NATO should be modified because times have changed. Many alliance leaders agree, although they don't accept his ideas of modification.

Since early January it has been blatantly apparent that Franco-American relations were at a nadir. The final argument isn't over Europe, but over divergent nuclear concepts. Indeed, on Europe, de Gaulle's policy is, by stressing the Continent, in some respects near to Washington's policy, yesterday.

Reaching Up the Alliance

French troops coming back from Algeria aren't being assigned to NATO, but in case of war they would fight with all the rest of the alliance. General Forstard is not too unhappy about their technical peace-time separation and reckons on them when he counts his forces.

De Gaulle knows as well as anyone that Europe and the West depend on American power for ultimate salvation. There are not five, as usually reported, but more than six U. S. divisions stationed in Germany. Thanks to forward stockpiles within a week of war's outbreak two more would be fighting on any Continental front. Five U. S. Polaris submarines are committed to NATO and Europe and most of those now building are committed to this area in advance. NATO is studying creation of a multilateral airborne missile force to which we would make the major contribution.

This is all attached, shall we say, to Europe, which is the kind of Europe de Gaulle envisions for the kind we envision. It is part of Western defense and, although we would like them to differ, we would like them to differ in the same way. De Gaulle's army and miniature nuclear forces are also part of Western defense.

France is not becoming neutralist although de Gaulle eyes new directions. He aspires to speak in Western councils as the leader of Continental Europe on an equal basis with London and Washington talking for the Commonwealth and the Americas. Even his unimpaired assurance doesn't aspire to run the show. It just wants a louder voice.

These things aren't going to be ironed out until after the Algerian mess is settled. Let us not allow

Expanding Our Economy

Tax Relief to Spur Additional Plant Investment Advocated

TOMAS ENROSA OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

The problem of profits raised by the head of the United States Steel Corporation remains unresolved. In the ten years from 1950 to 1960, the total compensation of all employees in the United States increased \$139.5 billion. The total flow of new money to all forms of government increased by \$78 billion in the same ten-year period. Yet total corporate profits after taxes declined by \$100 million.

It is true that one of the purposes for which the United States Constitution was adopted, as stated in the preamble, was "to advance the general welfare." Clearly that purpose has been achieved when all the production has increased in amount and in dollars flows to all employed workers and to all government. But this endangers the very enterprise system because of the restriction of corporate profits to no growth at all in that decade.

Now we face a larger unemployment than we would like to have. In 1960, less than three years away, we shall have one million more people reaching the age of 18 than are presently reaching that age each year. The American economy must expand much more rapidly than it has for the last ten years if we are to reduce the rate of unemployment and to create employment opportunities for the rising tide of young people—a tide that will flow to us for the next fifteen years, or until 1977 at least. Then we shall number more than 200 million people.

There is wide agreement that the single component in the American economy which has been sagging is business investment in new plant facilities. It is here that we can find the solution to our problem.

President's Proposals
 The investment credit for taxes as proposed by President Kennedy, together with increased allowable depreciation reserves out of profits now being considered by the Treasury, will provide a single increase in funds available to business for additional plant investment. The amount will be perhaps \$5 billion. This is equivalent to about one 7 per cent reduction in the corporation income tax.

We probably need such a cut in each of the next fifteen years to solve the fifteen-year high employment problem we face. Such a cut could easily stimulate the output of the American economy and incomes derived therefrom sufficiently to produce a total amount of taxes fully equal to the loss, with gradual fifteen-year abandonment of the corporation income tax.

With about 7 per cent of the world's people, we enjoy about 30 per cent of the world's consumable goods for our welfare. A dozen years ago this share was 37 per cent. Our much greater share of output as compared with population is the result of the better equipment with which employers supply each worker. However, we are now sagging in relation to the countries elsewhere in the free world and the Soviet Union. The measure I have mentioned will correct this situation.

HARRY A. BULLIS,
 Director and Former Chairman,
 General Mills, Inc.,
 Minneapolis, Minn., May 16, 1962.

City Court's Efficiency

TOMAS ENROSA OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

May 11 was my tenth and final day as a juror in the City Court (162nd Street and Washington Avenue). I served at least once before Judge Broccolino, Trimarco and Wachtel. Each occasion was an exhilarating experience, as a participant in "democracy in action." My hat is off to the punctuality, the zealous dispatch and unharried speed-up pervasive in the methods used by these jurists.

More than one attorney was firmly upbraided for an ill-prepared case or unnecessary delaying tactics.

Letters to The Times

ner in which their service is

It is regrettable that a few hard-shoulders should have been given undeserved publicity and to have been allowed to damage the image of the physician in the public mind. The Hippocratic Oath is still a living, vital instrument by which physicians are governed throughout their careers in the practice of medicine.
 J. J. SMITH, M. D.
 Brooklyn, May 10, 1962.

Portugal's Status

Achievements of the Salazar Regime
 Cited, Nation's Stability Stressed

The writer of the following letter was formerly liaison officer between the Government of Goa and the foreign press.

TOMAS ENROSA OF THE NEW YORK TIMES: I have read your May 12 editorial on "The Tragedy of Portugal" with a considerable amount of pain and surprise: pain because an important paper with a world-wide reputation should display such tactlessness, if not prejudice, especially when dealing with the Government of a country with which the United States maintains close ties of friendship, even if at times these ties have not proved of great value to the small but proud Portuguese people. I am surprised because your comments come ill at a time when America is making such frantic efforts to combat all tendencies toward optimism, of which Salazar's Portugal is the most uncompromising opponent.

I am a Portuguese from Goa, which the Indian Union so recently succeeded in annexing (with the aid of her Soviet and Afro-Asian friends) with the sympathy of a section of American public opinion that has persisted in remaining stupidly insufficiently informed. I have had to abandon the land of my birth. Like me, hundreds are abandoning it daily, from an excessive fear of the Indian Union's ability to exercise political leverage in the game of playing the communistic East against the West. The free nations of the world abandon to the wolves the ally of whom they count for the defense of their Western position.

To indulge in such a comment as that the "reactionary regime of Premier Salazar" is responsible for an "imperialized, backward and feudal" Portugal is to do more than violence to truth and objectivity. "Poor" Portugal may be when compared with the United States; but not "backward" or "feudal" and certainly not "the worst administered country" in Europe, as every American who has been to Lisbon knows and will admit.

Position in Europe

Perhaps the truth is not well realized that the small but ancient Portuguese nation has managed to survive by making use of its own resources, without having to fall back on international charity or to impose itself on the generosity of its American friends. Law and order are not the only things that Dr. Salazar has managed to keep during the thirty-four years of his Government.

Public memory is proverbially short. Our economy was never sounder since the days of the Marquis of Pombal (c. 1750) than it is today. The escudo is recognized on all sides as one of the soundest currencies in the world. It is the realization of this fact that West Germany, France and other European nations have come forward to invest large sums in our industries, and that recently the Export-Import Bank of America has sanctioned a loan of \$70 million in order that an American firm of engineers may construct over the river Tagus what is promising to be the largest suspension bridge in Europe.

There could not be a more eloquent testimony to the stability of our nation. This, you will admit, is a far cry from the Portugal of 1925 when the economy was in a state of

Action on D

Position of New

TOMAS ENROSA OF THE NEW YORK TIMES: The Presbytery May 7, meeting in as is customary, instances in order embarrasment to involved, book adm regarding, the Rev Merriam and the Broadway Presbytery asked a Presbytery to inter on Sunday, May 1 way Presbyterian the following sum day's statement:

The action relation was not sudden have been under duly elected agency history with the k Merriam and the S last fall, and I the Session were Ministerial Relation far back as Sept. mitter was incline rescinding his call Church.

The provision for remuneration for a complete surprise never discussed with an expression of I own for one of its mission who fully Merriam might be the Presbytery, who complained to high stipulated only that by unconstitutional incitement, or encouragement to lies in or out of building involving congregation) the of the Admini sion now in charge

Phantasies: Un Some thirty men bytery have parti commission dealing with the Broadway Presbytery. Matters of fact not been dealt with because they are mitter on Judicial Dr. Merriam and only their own dign official complaints New York, which n The Presbytery Paul F. Hudson p will be available to serve as interim the Broadway Ch the Executive Com mission, in the week-to-week time. No successor has been selected.

This is not the basis of the Pre However, it would that this was not and cats in the pu Merriam's scholars Presbytery knew theology when he call in April 1961, of serious conse Presbytery of Ne careful study an through its regul agencies, took deci vote of 73 to 27.

General Presbytery, New York, May New York, May

To Train Wells

TOMAS ENROSA OF THE NEW YORK TIMES: If the people of it are interested in no money, then they must see that such an administered. Our public assist annually to close to only one out of ty and local employes has the necessary p work training. S for adm

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